GREY TERROR: THE REAL UNREPORTED STORY OF THE PHILIPPINES . . . Pp. 6-7

NATIONAL
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THIS WAS BUNKER HILL DAY, 1960, IN TOKYO

These students, massed against the Japanese police on June 17, never did want to see the whites of President Eisenhower's eyes. They accomplished their aim in a series of massive demonstrations of the Japanese people that may have changed the course of world history.

THE FAR EASTERN DEBACLE

Japanese yearning for peace ruins Eisenhower image

By Kumar Goshal

WHEN PRESIDENT EISENHOWER left South Korea for Hawaii on June 20, ending a disastrous tour of the Far East, his prestige had collapsed beyond repair; and in his wake lay strewn the wreckage of the monstrous U.S. foreign policy so painstakingly pieced together by our own Dr. Frankenstein—John Foster Dulles.

It was ironic that Eisenhower's prestige as a man of peace had risen and fallen with trips to the Far East. On Dec. 2, 1952, he went to South Korea to fulfill his campaign pledge to try to end the Korean war if he were elected President. Until the U-2 intrusion of Soviet air space and the debacle of the Paris Summit talks, his personal reputation as a man of peace remained untarnished although he was surrounded in Washington by war-whooping lieutenants.

A "BLUNDERING" MAN: But by the time he had reached the halfway mark in his latest trip, the London **Daily Mirror's** columnist Cassandra (June 17) was echoing Soviet Premier Khrushchev's Paris statement. He wrote:

"Sympathy for this good but completely incompetent man is mixed with alarm that such a blunderer should hold so much influence over the fate of the world."

Originally, the President's Far Eastern tour was anchored on Japan, which he was to have visited on his way back from his projected trip to the Soviet Union. When the Soviet invitation was withdrawn, he added the Philippines, Taiwan, Okinawa and South Korea to his itinerary. The headlines in the last days were held by the massive demonstrations in Japan and the cancellation of his visit there; but the rest of his trip was far from successful, despite the puffed-up stories in the press, mainly designed to cover up the disaster of Japan.

STINK IN THE ISLANDS: Eisenhower arrived in Manila on June 13 for a three-day stay. He came as the stench of corruption in government permeated the atmosphere in a nation whose people suffered indescribable poverty (see pp. 6-7). "The massed poor throughout the islands all cry for help," reported Michael O'Neill (New York **Daily News**, June 17). "The Philippines economy has more problems than a blue tick hound has fleas,"

(Continued on Page 10)

Our summer dress

Beginning with next week's issue (dated July 4), the GUARDIAN will resume its annual practice of printing eight-page issues for the summer months. The 12-page paper will return after Labor Day. Watch for the on-the-spot coverage of the national political conventions by our Washington correspondent, Russ Nixon, in July.

THE FIGHT FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT

2 convictions reversed; 30 still face jail

EIGHT OF THE 32 pending First Amendment civil liberties cases were decided by a U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington June 18. Contempt of Congress convictions against Mrs. Mary Knowles and Mrs. Goldie Watson were overturned on the grounds that the Congressional committees had failed to establish the pertinency of their questions. Similar convictions of six men were affirmed. All decisions were unanimous. All the cases were in the courts for at least five years.

Mrs. Knowles was first called by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in 1953. She invoked the Fifth Amendment on questions of her political beliefs and associations and as a result was fired as librarian in Norwood, Mass. She was hired later by the Quaker-operated William Jeanes Memorial library in Plymouth Meeting, Pa.

The committee called her again in 1955 when she testified that she had no connection with any subversive group and used the First Amendment for further questions. Later she was convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to 120 days in jail and fined $500. The Quaker library stood by Mrs. Knowles through her fight and recently gave her a salary increase.

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PACIFISTS CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLARIS SUBS

Pauling subpenaed by Senate security committee

NOBEL PRIZE WINNER Dr. Linus Pauling was to testify at a Senate Internal Security subcommittee hearing on "communist" influence in the peace movement at GUARDIAN press time. Pauling revealed that he had been served with a subpena on June 18, while he was in Washington to speak at a meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The subpena was answerable on June 20 but, when Pauling arrived at the Capitol, Sen. Thomas Dodd (D-Conn.) told him the hearing had been delayed one day.

Pauling told a news conference: "I don't know how many times I've said it, or how many affidavits are on file saying I'm not a Communist and never have been, but I'll say it again today." He said the inquiry was a twin attempt "to suppress the Bill of Rights" and interrupt the flow of information on nuclear tests to the public.

Pauling, a professor of chemistry at California Institute of Technology, and an outspoken opponent of nuclear bomb testing, was in the East at the time of his subpena to speak at several peace meetings. One was in Cambridge, Mass., on June 15, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), and other peace groups. Other speakers included British Nobel prize winner Philip Noel-Baker, H. Stuart Hughs, chairman of the Department of History at Harvard University, and Rabbi Rolland B. Gittelsohn.

The meeting was part of a summer disarmament campaign by various New England peace groups. One phase of the campaign is being conducted by the Committee for Non-Violent Action, a non-partisan, pacifist group protesting nuclear missiles.

ANTI-MISSILE CAMPAIGN: On June 1, the committee began a three-month campaign in New London and Groton,

(Continued on Page 8)

THE MAIL BAG

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

HONG KONG, June 11. — (AP)—Goldfish and tropical fish bred here now need visas to enter the United States, the English-language Hong Kong **Tiger Standard** reports. The newspaper said the fish must have special permits proving they have not been bred in communist China.

—Independent-Press-Telegram,
Long Beach,, Calif., June 11

One year free sub tc sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: C.D.H., Long Beach, Calif.

The way back

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We are living in a crazy time. We are told that the violation of the territory of another nation is only a different form of espionage; and that a U-2 pilot gets twice the salary of a four-star general with eight year's service because he protects us from a surprise attack which would be utterly senseless and which nobody considers; that it is humiliating to apologize for the most irresponsible and most dangerous blunder we ever committed and that always father knows best and who criticizes him is an appeaser. When will we find the way back to sanity?

Ben H. Jones

American know-how?

SAFETY HARBOR, FLA.

Isn't there more than a possibility that that wooden American seal displayed before the UN Security Council was hollowed out by American hands? Are we even sure that the radio it contained was not U.S. made? In the seven years it was kept under wraps a lot could happen to it.

Doc Raymund

Monopoly's minion

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Monopoly capitalism is undoubtedly mighty proud of George Meany. If they spent millions of dollars they could not find a much better representative of their class in labor organization.

It looks to me as if he prefers annihilation of the whole of humanity rather than live together with the socialist world.

N. Egavian

Live corpus delicti

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A friend of mine has an interesting legal problem. Recently he underwent a delicate operation, and was dead for two minutes. His heart stopped, he did not breathe, he was unquestionably dead.

Thanks to a miracle of modern surgery, he was brought back to life, and is again in good health.

My friend had always been a very religious man, and had been assured by the clergy that when he died his soul would most likely go to heaven, or if not there, surely somewhere. But during the two minutes that he was dead, his soul went nowheres at ail It did not even start going. He will sign an affidavit to that effect.

He feels that the church has been deceiving him, and would like to start suit to get back the hundreds of dollars that he contributed over a period of many years, which he feels were taken fraudulently.

Does he have a case? Perhaps GUARDIAN readers can offer advice. He thinks it might come under the Food and Drug Act, but he knows very little about the law. Perhaps an ambulance chaser might take it on a fifty-fifty basis.

F. L. H.

The difficult task

NORRISTOWN, PA.

Destroy all the A and H bombs, sink all the navies, disband all armies, etc., etc., and yet, as long as there is unwillingness to accept peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition as a means of proving which is the better of the two social systems, conflict is inevitable. Wars were waged in the past with stones and clubs and even bare fists, and the combats were quite bloody and destructive.

Let us then stop beating around the bush and realistically tackle the difficult task of resolving the main and basic issue.

G. Burnstein

Sense for Senators

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Here's something I wrote to my Senator, Clair Engle:

"When you interviewed Florida's Sen. Smathers on TV May 8, I did not hear his answer if you asked him why the U.S. first started paying a premium above the world price for Cuban sugar. Was the purpose to subsidize American sugar companies in Cuba, or to aid that paragon of democracy, Batista?

"May I ask whether equality before the law, respect for human dignity, democracy, etc., etc., as practiced in the great state of Florida, are the standards that you feel Castro's government must equal, or else? Or are there perhaps other reasons why you are beating the drums for a U.S. crackdown on Cuba?"

V. R. Jewett

Ex-Urbanite

UPSTATE, N.Y.

I was brought up on Manhattan's West Side. My sisters and I always played in Central Park, or walked from one end to the other through the autumn leaves. Where once there was green grass with "Keep Off" signs on it, now there is bare ground. Even the benches have been removed in places. Children destroy playground equipment, and adults throw paper and litter around. No one seems to care how it looks.

If you asked most New Yorkers to volunteer for an auxiliary police force to help clear up the delinquency problem, I bet they'd say it was none of their business or that they couldn't be bothered. People in the U.S. tend to work for themselves and their own individual interests and not together toward a common goal.

I also believe that violence in comic books, on T.V., and in the movies has a far greater influence on the attitude of the American public than newspaper and magazine articles would care to show or admit.

Former New Yorker

Vie Nuove, Rome

"Going to Mars, mister?"

Myer Weise

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Thousands of years ago a very great teacher devoted his life to instructing the youth. Socrates sought to achieve human happiness through a purely personal attainment of knowledge in the realm of virtue, justice and truth.

Myer Weise, who died on June 10, also instructed the youth. But his intent was far different. As a teacher he guided his students so that they might find answers to essentially one question, the question of human freedom and its expansion on this earth. As a teacher he helped us understand that we must turn our gaze outward from our psyche and downward from the stars in order to find the answer to the apparent paradox that Man is born free and in much of the world he is in chains. Listening to Myer speak, learning from Myer, one is left with the firm conviction that the quality of teaching has not suffered these many centuries since the days of ancient Athens, and too, that these chains are nearly rusted through.

As a friend, Myer was deeply concerned with the imprint the rusted chains had upon us all. A measure of a man's friendship is his ability to extend warmth, understanding, concern and advice to another, not only when life is sweet and good, but during those times when unhappiness and troubles becloud our lives. Myer had this capacity to the fullest.

Paul Milvy

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

AT 3 O'CLOCK SUNDAY MORNING UN Secy.-Gen. Trygve Lie . . . was snatching a few hours' sleep in his home near UN headquarters, Lake Success, N.Y. The telephone woke him. It was Ernest Gross, U.S. delegate to the UN. Gross said fighting had started in Korea and that the U.S. considered North Korea (called a "Russian puppet state" by the U.S.) the aggressor against South Korea (called a "U.S. puppet state" by Russia). He asked for an immediate session of the Security Council.

Cold war had turned to hot along the 38th parallel which divides Korea. North Korea said South Korean forces had started it by crossing the line, along which there have been daily skirmishes for two years. The line runs through mountain peaks where no one can be sure which side of it he is on, and it is impossible to fix responsibility. The New York **Times** had reported June 25:

"The South Korean government has in the past embroidered the news of border incidents in an apparent effort to convince Americans of the need for greater military aid."

All reports reaching the U.S. came from the threatened South Korean capital of Seoul. For hours radio and press featured reports that North Korea had "declared war" on the South. This was finally denied by President Truman himself, who dramatically flew back to Washington from Independence, Mo., for a day of conferences.

Some basis for the North Korean accusation was seen in the report, confirmed by U.S. army officers on the spot, that South Korean forces had captured a town six miles north of the line in the early hours of the fighting . . .

—From the National Guardian, June 28, 1950.

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REPORT TO READERS

About June 25, 1950

JUNE 25, 1950, WAS A PLEASANT SUNDAY in these parts, and a goodly part of the GUARDIAN staff had started off on an early morning safari to nearby Connecticut. Monday was press day, and we were raising the money for the next few weeks' issues with an art auction on a pleasant lawn rolling down to the Sound at Rowayton.

On the way, we got the news of the outbreak of fighting in Korea. An early edition of a New York tabloid carried an Associated Press dispatch saying that the town of Haeju, five miles north of the 38th parallel, had been captured in a dawn offensive by South Korean forces. A U.S. officer had confirmed the capture. The official North Korean radio warned that it would begin a counter-offensive if the Southern army did not halt its attack. The counter-offensive began at 3 p.m. Korean time that day.

THOSE OF US ON SAFARI got in touch by telephone with those holding the fort back home. The outbreak was not a surprise. There had been stories since early May of the military buildup in South Korea; the North Koreans had protested five violations of the 38th Parallel May 19-22; and on May 30 Syngman Rhee's party had been worsted at the polls despite the jailing of 30 opponents.

Early in June Rhee's ambassador to Washington had reported his country on the verge of internal collapse and had asked for U.S. armed intervention. In response, several hundred F-80 jets started for the Far East and so did John Foster Dulles, to be photographed in his black Homburg in Rhee's trenches on June 20.

THE ART AUCTION WENT WELL, and the next few week's issues were assured. We replated out of the June 28 paper an appeal for funds and several other stories and gave over the front page and many columns inside to the Korean story as we saw it, including reference to the early edition AP version. By the time we reached our readers, the official version of the outbreak—that of North Korean aggression—had taken over and, except when recalled later in the GUARDIAN and a few other courageous outposts of U.S. journalism, the early AP version was never heard from again. The cold war had been turned into a hot one, and the big brainwash was on in earnest.

We fought against the brainwash with all we had. Our July 5 issue was entirely devoted to the situation in Korea. We told of the betrayal of Korean unification, reprinted that tell-tale picture of Dulles, ran the text of the lone speech in Congress against intervention, by Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.); and traced the history of MacArthur's elevation of Syngman Rhee in 1945, and the establishment in 1947 of the UN "Little Assembly" for the special purpose of sidestepping Soviet proposals for Korean unity.

The July 12 GUARDIAN warned that the Korean War would be the pretext for police state measures at home. We dug out Mark Twain's immortal lines on the war-makers from **The Mysterious Stranger** ("Before long you will see this curious thing: the speakers stoned from the platform and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in their secret hearts are still at one with the stoned speakers . . . ")

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY split disastrously on the question of a position on the Korean War. The July 19 GUARDIAN ran the full text of Henry Wallace's statement going one way ("I hold no brief for the past action of either the U.S. or the Soviet Union, but when my country is at war and the UN sanctions that war I am on the side of my country and the UN."); and the PP National Committee statement calling for cessation of hostilities, establishment of an independent, unified, democratic Korea; and withdrawal of Truman directives for intervention at Formosa and the off-shore islands.

THE GUARDIAN POSITION—for withdrawal of troops from Korea, countermanding of planned intervention in China and Indo-China; admission of China to the UN; and a ban on atomic weapons "everywhere, now and forever"—appeared also in our July 19 issue; and that issue and the next one, July 26, documented our contention that the war was instigated by MacArthur, Hoover and Dulles.

Also, we finally squeezed in our long-delayed fund appeal.

NOW, as every GUARDIAN reader who gets our letters knows, we are appealing anew for summer, 1960. It has been a tough decade since the Korean War sent a great portion of the U.S. progressive movement to cover, and a large number of people who then read the GUARDIAN along with it. The tasks on those who stuck have been heavier—but hasn't it been worth it?

We know your answer, but we'd like to hear it from you anyway. The postage-paid business reply envelope we sent you early this month will do nicely.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE SORRY SIX-YEAR RECORD OF THE SOUTH

Only a tiny fraction of Negro school children integrated

By Ramona Lowe

THE SUPREME COURT decision declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional is, after six years, little more than an order on paper. By the end of the 1960 school year only 180,000 of the 3,000,000 Negro school children in the South had been scattered as tokens of integration in formerly all-white classrooms. And more than 70,000 of these were in the District of Columbia alone.

One-third of the school population of the South are Negroes and Negroes are taxed equally for support of the schools; but in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina there has been no attempt whatever to obey the Court mandate and integrate classrooms.

The farce is acted out with District Court judges humoring regional traditions, die-hard politicians garnering emotional votes and the earnest and patient Negro mothers and fathers courageously taking a stand against prejudice and terror in an effort to get the decent public school education for their children that has been guaranteed them by the Federal courts.

ON THE BENCH: Chief Justice Taney's decision of 1857 in the Dred Scott case that "the Negro has no rights that the white man is bound to respect," seems still in effect today. Example: there are

The box score

Here is a breakdown of integration activity as reported in Southern School News *(June, 1960):*

State	School age Negro children	Negro children integrated
Alabama	267,259	0
Georgia	306,158	0
Louisiana	261,491	0
Mississippi	271,761	0
S. Carolina	255,616	0
Arkansas	104,205	98
Florida	201,091	512*
N. Carolina	302,060	34
Tennessee	146,700	169
Virginia	203,229	103
Delaware	14,063	6,196
D.C.	89,451	73,290
Kentucky	42,778	12,000
Maryland	130,076	28,072
Missouri	82,000	35,000
Oklahoma	39,405	10,246
Texas	279,374	3,300
W. Virginia	24,010	12,000

* 490 of these were enrolled in a Miami elementary school that has 8 white pupils.

50,704 Negro children in the New Orleans public schools and 41,894 whites. White parents in a post card poll May 3 voted 12,229 to 2,707 to close the public schools rather than accept token integration. Negro parents voted 11,407 to 679 to keep the schools open despite integration. School board president Rittiner said the board would "try to follow the will of the majority of the white parents" (**Southern School News, June, 1960**).

The 83-year-old District Judge T. Whitfield Davidson of Texas is one example of the functioning of a Southern district judge. Fearing "amalgamation" of the races, on May 25 he rejected the Dallas school board plan for gradual integration; he suggested instead that voluntary integration at the discretion of the parents should be tried starting in September, 1961. In 1955 Federal Judge William Atwell simply dismissed a suit to end school segregation in Dallas.

PUPIL PLACEMENT: Judge Frank Hooper, indulging the sensitive feelings of white Georgians, had allowed them to take their own time to desegregate. Finally, on May 9, he ruled that the desegregation plan (one of pupil placement) must go into effect in Atlanta on May 1, 1961.

Paralleling Hooper's position is that of Judge Ben C. Connally in Texas who re-

CARLOTTA WALLS IN 1957
Armed escort into Little Rock High

CARLOTTA WALLS IN 1960
A graduate looks at her Year Book

fused at last on June 1 to grant the Houston school board any further postponements in drawing up a desegregation plan. Houston, which has the largest segregated school system in the country, had been ordered to desegregate three years ago. Judge J. Skelly Wright in Louisiana was considered by the local citizens a traitor to tradition when he refused to accept further delays from the Orleans Parish school board. He handed down his own plan for desegregating the schools:

In September, 1960, "all children entering the first grade may attend the all-white or all-Negro school nearest their homes at their option. Children may be transferred from one school to another provided such transfers are not based on consideration of race."

One can speculate as to the outcome.

COUNTER-ATTACK: Over 160 court cases have been filed in the Federal and State courts in an effort to make the school boards enforce integration. But 250 laws and resolutions have been adopted by various state legislatures in an attempt to stall enforcement.

Pupil placement is one of the popular ruses. The story of Robert F. Williams of North Carolina, reported in his paper, **The Crusader** (June 11), illustrates how it works:

According to the law "any request for reassignment [of pupils] must be made to the board 10 days prior to the opening of the schools for the 1960-61 term . . . The parent or guardian of any child . . . who is dissatisfied with the assignment made by the board of education may, within 10 days **after** notification of the

Vicky, London Evening Standard
"Terribly sorry—but I can't interfere in local matters . . ."

assignment, or the last publication thereof, apply in writing to the board of education for the reassignment of the child to a different public school."

The Union County Board of Education on June 9 reported no changes in pupil assignments. Williams had been requesting for three years that his sons be transferred, so he went to the office of the superintendent to ask once more for the legal forms for reassignment. He was told the superintendent was out of town; no one knew when he would return, and only he could issue the forms. Williams then asked to leave a letter for the superintendent; he was told that he could not because "it might get lost."

THERE ARE MANY WAYS: This assignment method is used also in Arkansas. This year the Little Rock School Board has announced that seven additional Negro children can enter the class rooms of Central and Hall High Schools next fall. The board arrived at its selection through a personality test given to all ninth graders. Of 356 Negro children tested, 35 were judged fit to attend a school with white children. And from these the seven were chosen.

There are other ways of putting off desegregation:

- In Dade County, Fla., the school board delayed a decision for a year, thus keeping six Negro children out of the white school to which they had applied for admission.

- In Knoxville, Tenn., the school board has decided to take its own time; it has allowed itself 12 years to desegregate.

Then there is the time-honored judicial delay: deferring setting a date for the admission of Negro children to white schools, as in Pulaski, Va., where District Judge Roby Thompson ruled April 1 that 17 Negroes must be admitted to the all-white high school, but did not say when.

THE POLITICAL FRONT: The school question has become a major political issue in the Southern states. In most instances candidates with an out-and-out segregation platform have been victorious, as C. Fariss Bryant, candidate for Governor in Florida, and Jimmie Davis, new Governor of Louisiana. And close inspection reveals that the interests and the programs of the so-called liberals and moderates are not far different from those shouting for segregation. Only the approach differs.

In Florida, Jesse W. Yarborough, a candidate for Secretary of State, said in a campaign speech: "If the school boards throughout Florida would face reality with reason rather than be influenced by race-baiters, our pupil assignment law will remain legal and our public schools will not face mass integration in the forseeable future."

The president of the Georgia State Bar Assn. was even franker when he called for the repeal of segregation laws as the best means of "keeping as nearly what we have for as long as we can" (New York **Times**, May 27). Where there are no segregation statutes on the books, he declared, the school boards have been able to win their cases as defendants.

WHAT'S BEING DONE? In the face of stalling by school boards, judicial collusion, public fear and unreasoning prejudice, what is being done to implement the Supreme Court's orders?

The court calenders remain crowded with test cases brought by Negro individuals and organizations. Some organizations of whites and Negroes, such as the Southern Conference Educational Fund, work bravely and painstakingly to change the public climate—North and South. The new movements among the Negroes are bound to have an effect on school integration, especially the lunch counter sit-ins.

In some communities white committees have sprung up to save the public schools. The members have not concerned themselves ostensibly with the segregation issue, but have been conscious of the economic and moral disaster ahead for a generation growing up without the benefits of a free education. (The private

school idea so favored by Virginia—even though there is an effort to support it with public funds—has shown weak spots.)

A LESSON IN HISTORY: Negroes faced with an immediate problem, as when public schools were locked to them in Prince Edward County, Va., have set up "training classes" in the churches. The adults did not consider this adequate, but they had the youngsters concentrate on reading, arithmetic and Negro history.

In learning about the historical contributions Negroes have made to American life, the children found that the Negro Reconstruction legislators gave the South its first public schools, which were for black and white alike.

And, ironically, the first free schools in Arkansas were established independently in Little Rock by Negroes not quite a hundred years ago.

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WHAT ARE THE CHANCES OF A WARHEAD GOING OFF?

The facts on the Jersey Bomarc missile fire

By Robert E. Light

TWENTY-TWO YEARS AGO Orson Welles spread panic through the Northeast with his documentary-style dramatization of H. G. Wells' **War of the Worlds** on CBS radio. Thousands took seriously his report that Martians had landed at Grovers Mills, N.J., despite repeated announcements that the broadcast was fiction. But the intervening years of hot and cold war seem to have turned the public lukewarm to disaster reports.

When CBS television broke into its afternoon movie June 7 to announce that a Bomarc missile with an "atomic warhead" had caught fire at McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey and there was "radiation danger," scarcely anyone stirred. Other radio and television bulletins reported an "atomic explosion," but only two persons in New York called police headquarters. There were not enough calls to stations and newspapers to disturb their switchboards.

Near the base there was some panic among those who saw a mushroom of black smoke rise above a missile shelter. But people quieted down when they learned there had not been an atomic explosion, only a fire in a missile shelter.

London Daily Express

GENERAL FATALISM: If the missile's nuclear warhead had actually exploded, the thought of the consequences should have sent people screaming into the streets. The public apathy seems to indicate a general fatalism and also points up the government's failure to set forth the real dangers of the atomic age.

Actually, neither panic nor disinterest was justified by the Bomarc fire. There was a serious danger to those at the base and a somewhat lesser peril for those living near the site. But the likelihood of a full-scale atomic blast was slight.

Danger from accidental explosion of nuclear weapons exists always. Atomic weapons — bombs and warheads — are composed of two sets of explosives. A "trigger" mechanism of traditional explosive, like TNT, sets off the nuclear fuel, uranium-235 or plutonium, which explodes in a chain reaction.

IF A PLANE CRASHES: The "trigger" is in constant danger of exploding accidentally, particularly from fire. A high temperature can cause the TNT to "cook" to the stage where it detonates. This kind of explosion could happen in a crash of an atom-armed plane where fire is involved, or if lightning struck a missile while on a launching pad. The frequent transportation of bombs and warheads also increases the chances of fire. (War heads are periodically flown back to the U.S. from foreign bases for maintenance work.)

But there are several built-in safety factors to prevent an explosion of the nuclear fuel even when the "trigger" catches fire. The TNT in the "trigger" is set in opposing charges which must go off simultaneously to drive the nuclear fuel together and thereby set it off. Simultaneous detonation in a fire is extremely unlikely.

Atomic weapons also carry a complex of electrical and mechanical switches which have to be closed to arm them. Final arming of missiles cannot take place until the weapon is in flight.

TRIGGER HAZARD: Several years ago, at the Nevada Testing Grounds, the Atomic Energy Commission conducted a series of experiments to determine whether an atomic weapon could be set off accidentally. Bombs were dropped, set afire and driven into the ground to simulate accidental dropping from a plane. The AEC reported that none exploded.

Although the possibility of accidental nuclear blast seems small, there is constant hazard from explosion of the "trigger" alone. If the "trigger" is detonated it could scatter radioactivity by setting fire to the nuclear fuel without exploding it. Uranium is not overly harmful, but plutonium is highly toxic even if inhaled in very small amounts. Plutonium is a bone-seeker like strontium-90. It also emits alpha particles, or nuclei of helium atoms which destroy tissue.

Radioactive fumes would also be emitted if the "trigger" caused a "fizzle" explosion of the nuclear fuel.

A CAPACITY OF 56: Danger from a "trigger" explosion is greatest in the immediate vicinity. But radioactive dust could also be carried in smoke to neighboring areas. A major disaster could occur if fire from one explosion set off other missiles. The McGuire base is equipped for 56 missiles. Radioactive fumes from a multi-missile explosion could contaminate a large area, depending on the heat, prevailing winds and other meteorological factors.

British physicist Dr. Eric H. S. Burhop said accidents like the McGuire fire "can be quite serious . . . So the sooner we cease preparing these launching sites, or flying the weapons overhead, the sooner we will be rid of this risk."

There have been no calamitous accidental nuclear explosions but there have been nine reported accidents in the West since 1952; there are no published reports here of Soviet accidents. In December, 1952, at a Canadian station near Chalk River, and in Windscale, England, in October, 1957, atomic piles got out of control and spread radiation over wide areas. Scores of persons were temporarily evacuated while decontamination measures were undertaken.

1958 IN JERSEY: Eight Nike Atlas missiles exploded in May, 1958, near Middletown, N.J., killing ten men and injuring three others. Debris was scattered and windows were broken for miles around. A fire in one missile set off the other seven.

Two months earlier a plane accidentally dropped a nuclear bomb on a farm in Florence, S.C. Six persons were injured and some houses were damaged, but no radiation was reported in the area. Planes were later ordered to "lock in" their bombs to prevent accidental dropping.

On four occasions planes carrying nuclear bombs crashed in take-off, but there was no extensive radiation. Two planes carrying nuclear weapons collided in October, 1959, but the bombs did not explode.

LOOKED LIKE PANIC: The origin of the McGuire fire has not yet been revealed. It broke out at 3:15 p.m. on June 7. A soldier reporting back to the base said he saw a tremendous puff of black smoke which mushroomed about 100 feet into the air. "It looked like real panic," he said. "The sirens were blowing and everyone was rushing out the gate. Some rushed past me into the woods. Others got into their cars and drove off."

State police were notified immediately to stop traffic on nearby highways. Somehow—no one will now take the blame—the report went out on the police radio that "an atomic warhead has exploded." A wire service picked up the item, accounting for the initial radio and television bulletins.

The fire was put out in 45 minutes and apparently no one was injured. But wild confusion followed in the base's public relations office as Air Force officers tried to correct the "atomic explosion" report, answer reporters' questions and clear it all with Pentagon security.

JUST DON'T BREATHE: In the final official version there was no atomic explosion and only a small amount of radiation was spread over a limited area. Public Health Service decontamination teams reported that a survey of 60 square miles showed no radiation.

During the confusion before the official statement was released, contradictory reports were issued. Capt. John A. Looser, base maintenance officer, said that the radiation came from burning thoriated magnesium, which forms part of the missile. Other McGuire officials said the fire may have burned open part of the warhead containing the nuclear fuel.

The New York **Herald Tribune** story included this remarkable sentence: "A spokesman at the Air Force Base said the radioactive particles were of a kind that are not harmful unless taken internally by inhalation or otherwise."

FOUR SOLID HOURS: When the first reports of the explosion were announced on radio, Civil Defense officials in three New Jersey counties and in New York City donned helmets and stood on alert. They stood for nearly four hours because the Defense Department did not notify them of the fire until 7 p.m.—three hours after the fire had been put out and two hours after civilian highway traffic returned to normal.

"Liaison between the military and state officials could stand a lot of improvement," said New Jersey Asst. Atty. Gen. David M. Satz Jr., who is in charge of public safety.

McGuire officials referred to Washington questions of what plans the Air Force has for releasing news in case an atomic warhead really does go off. The Pentagon is still studying the question.

First Amendment

(Continued from Page 1)

REINSTATEMENT ASKED: Mrs. Watson was called by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1954. She also invoked the First Amendment on questions of her beliefs and was later convicted on contempt. She received a three-month suspended sentence and a $1,000 fine. She was fired as a school teacher in Philadelphia after her appearance. An appeal for reinstatement is now before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

In overturning her conviction the court held that the committee had failed to establish the nature and scope of its inquiry and the basis and pertinency of its questions.

The court directed that indictments against Mrs. Knowles and Mrs. Watson be dismissed, which means they cannot be tried again.

Affirmed were the convictions of these men:

- Robert Shelton, copy editor on the New York **Times**. Called by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in January, 1956. Sentenced to six months and $500 fine.
- William A. Price, former reporter for the New York **Daily News**. Called at the same time as Shelton. Sentenced to three months and $500 fine. Fired from his job because of his testimony.
- Herman Liveright, fired as program director of WDSU-TV in New Orleans after he appeared before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in March, 1956. Sentenced to three months and $500 fine.
- Norton A. Russell, an engineer of Yellow Springs, Ohio. Appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee in September, 1954. Sentenced to 30 days and $500 fine.
- John T. Gojack, former president of District 9, United Electrical Workers. Appeared before the House Un-American Committee in March, 1955. Sentenced to nine months and $200 fine.
- Bernard Deutch, who was a graduate student when called before the House Un-American Activities Committee in April, 1954. Sentenced to three months and $100 fine.

OTHER CASES: In affirming Shelton's conviction, the court said: "An inquiry into a possible conspiracy for infiltration or subversion of the press embraces the right to command the witness to say whether he is a member of the conspiracy, subject, of course, to the right of the witness to take refuge in the Fifth Amendment." Shelton invoked only the First Amendment.

All six are expected to appeal to the Supreme Court.

Of the other First Amendment cases: Lloyd Barenblatt and Paul Rosenkranz have completed prison sentences; H. Chandler Davis is due to be released June 28 after six months in jail; and Dr. Willard Uphaus is still in jail.

The case of Harvey O'Connor, who refused to honor a House Un-American Activities subpena, challenging the right of the Committee to exist, has been adjourned until fall. The cases of Pete Seeger, Elliot Sullivan and George Tyne are due for assignment on June 30.

Contributions may be sent to the Committee of First Amendment Defendants, P.O. Box 564, Radio City Station, N.Y. 19.

LAST WEEK

You can win a FREE TRIP TO CUBA or another fine prize in the Guardian Sub Contest. But you have only until June 30 to make it. All subs postmarked by that date will be credited. Get your friends to help you in the home stretch. You can order pre-paid sub blanks and fill in the names later if you like. Address all communications to Guardian Contest, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

CAPTURE APPLAUDED BUT—

Eichmann affair creates political dilemma for Israel

ADOLF EICHMANN'S "WORK" PRODUCED THESE RESULTS AT BUCHENWALD
Two U.S. Congressmen view some of the victims of Hitler's butcher

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

TEL AVIV

THE EICHMANN affair seems to be getting out of hand, and many people wonder how the Israel government could have permitted itself to get into a position where an unquestionable moral right is made to look like a political wrong. The public here is and has been unanimous in applauding the capture of the man responsible for the murder of millions of Jews and millions more of non-Jews; and for once, from Herut on the extreme right to the Communist Party on the far left, there has been no dissenting voice.

What started the trouble was the original statement heaping glory on Israel's Intelligence Services for what was termed—and undoubtedly is—their unique achievement in finally trapping the man who for 15 years had successfully evaded justice. The public, especially that part of the public composed of survivors of the holocaust, was justifiably gratified in seeing this monstrous criminal at last at bay.

Unfortunately, however, the glorification of Israel's Intelligence Services was coupled with the far more doubtful statement that circumstances of Eichmann's capture would never be revealed. "Never" is long time and a big word, as the authorities here have learned to their pain. Speculation was rife from the beginning, and the press—the Argentine press primarily—soon taught the Israeli government never to say "never."

Drawing by Armstrong

DISBELIEF: The diplomatic protest by Argentina came as a shock here and the government's reply caused much uneasiness. "Methinks the lady doth protest too much" sums up a good deal of informed opinion for, after having heaped bouquets on the combined Intelligence Services, it was too much to ask of even the most naive to believe in the newly-found theory of "volunteers" who effected the Eichmann coup; and in the statements that the government had been totally ignorant of developments until the day Adolf Eichmann was handed to them on a silver platter, by courtesy of El Al, Israel's national airline. What has, however, upset people even more is the so-called Eichmann letter, purporting to state that he came here "of his own free will . . . to find inner peace."

A young publisher, Palestine-born, told me that he found this a "trick, degrading to a degree, which puts us in the same category as Nazis." A businessman compared the government's attempt to extricate itself from an exceedingly awkward diplomatic impasse to the American antics regarding the U-2 plane incident.

Either comparison appears to this correspondent as too harsh. Even if the letter were forged, it does not put Israel in the same category as those who committed wholesale genocide; nor does the belated justification of unorthodox methods in the apprehension of an arch-criminal parallel an attempted justification of espionage which might easily have set off World War III.

However, both views—expressed by persons Israel-born and bred, without any political bias—show that the public attitude is hardening and that the ordinary citizen expects the government to act on a moral plane vastly superior to those it deems to judge. If we are to set ourselves up as judges, they say, we must, like Caesar's wife, be above reproach.

POINT MISSED: The Argentine request for Eichmann's return has met with a resounding "No" by the entire press. The Argentine point of view has met with little understanding, if any, despite the hitherto excellent relations between the two countries. Yet few Israelis would condone similar events, had this situation been reversed, and no country can be expected to admit the propriety of foreign agents roaming at will on its sovereign territory and kidnaping local residents.

However, the main point that has escaped public opinion here is the sancitity of asylum which is particularly sacred in Latin America, where sudden change in political fortunes often makes entire governments exiles overnight. Many diplomats here feel that the Israel government could have done more toward catering to the emotional susceptibilities of Latin Americans.

Be that as it may, there is little chance that Eichmann will be returned to Argentina. Argentina's insistence on bringing the case before the United Nations may produce an ugly debate, with the substance of the case being lost in a sea of technicalities. But even a UN debate cannot whitewash Eichmann or morally condemn Israel: The government may be accused of political bungling, but it can hardly be accused of moral turpitude. The only possible result of such a debate might be a UN resolution asking for an international trial—at present opposed by the government—which may eventually prove the best possible way out of a political dilemma. It may yet be agreed to, provided Israel's susceptibilities are taken properly into account, with the international court sitting in Israel.

DIRTY LINEN: Some observers here maintain that, in any case, Argentina is not acting on its own, but as a front for the British and Americans who would prefer not to see Eichmann brought to trial at all, lest the long-drawn-out procedure reveal too many unpleasant facts, both regarding Western indifference toward Jewish suffering under Hitler and the shielding of former Nazis during the past 15 years.

It is a claim that bears discussion, although it seems far-fetched in view of the fact that no responsible British or American opinion has disputed Eichmann's guilt—a guilt which would surely be confirmed by an international or a national court.

The countries eligible for possible membership on an international court, from the Soviet Union to Holland, have all been unanimous in their condemnation of Eichmann. Moreover, none has disputed Israel's claim to try him on her own. On the contrary, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia have already offered all possible help to Israel in this regard.

ANOTHER VIEW: There is, of course, one other point of view that finds much expression here—although as yet not in print. Many persons here—especially the survivors of Hitler's Europe—feel that since the only good Nazi is a dead Nazi, it would have been better to have presented both Israel and the world with the corpse of Adolf Eichmann. Since there is, in any event, no punishment to fit a crime such as his, and since he cannot be killed six million times but only once, due process of law, they feel, becomes a farce, in the last analysis.

Besides, many of the survivors are afraid of having the whole traumatic experience of the Nazi epoch unfolded once again. They have lived with it for too long; they have barely survived it in fact and have finally succeeded in pushing it deep down into their subconscious. They do not want to relive it again. They do not blame the government for bungling: they only wish the government would spare them the agony of once again descending into the inferno.

Morality and legality

THE PRESS in the Soviet Union and in Poland last week indicated a sympathy for the Israeli position in the Eichmann case. They said that while Argentina was legally correct in requesting the return of the Nazi official, Israel had a moral right to try Eichmann. Their comment also was critical of Argentina for having harbored Eichmann and other high Nazi officials for many years.

UNION, NEGRO, JEWISH, CIVIC GROUPS UP IN ARMS

Wide protest over Nazi rally in Union Sq. July 4

AN APPLICATION by the "American Nazi Party" for a July 4 rally permit in New York's Union Square set off a volley of June protests to Mayor Robert Wagner and Parks Commissioner Newbold Morris. The Nazi bid also brought in its wake applications from such organizations as the National Maritime Union for permits to stage "pro-American" rallies the same day. The Brooklyn Council-Kings County unit of the Veteran of Foreign Wars threatened to picket the Nazi rally if it were held.

Although it is accepted practice not to issue permits for simultaneous rallies in Union Square, meetings may be held at different hours during a given day.

The anti-Jewish, anti-Negro Nazi group is led by George Lincoln Rockwell of Arlington, Va. According to the New York **Post** (May 27) he said: "I'm taking all the troops I can from all over the country with me to help . . . We don't intend violence . . . However, if we are attacked, I intend to reply in kind . . . I've trained my boys not to be afraid of the Jews."

DANGER OF RIOT? Rockwell's utterances brought further protests on June 17 to the Mutual Radio Network after a broadcast interview in which he was quoted as saying that the aim of the American Nazi Party is "to exterminate unfriendly Jews" and to "send Negroes back to Africa."

Morris' reply to protests against the rally—they came from such groups as the Jewish War Veterans, the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs, the Farband Labor Zionist Order, the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies, and the New York Chapter of the NAACP—was that he would have to grant the permit unless the Police Department thought there was danger of rioting. Police Commissioner Kennedy, however, said he could not anticipate what would happen.

CEMETERY DESECRATED: Latest anti-Semitic incident in the New York area was the desecration of a Jewish cemetery on the night of June 16. Bronze markers were ripped from nearly 20 headstones in the Oheb Shalom Cemetery in Hillsdale, N.J. Pro-nazi sympathizers were reported to be numerous in this section some years ago. An organization known as the Public Awareness Society, through its president Harry Sadow, filed suit in the State Supreme Court June 17, to prevent the city from issuing the rally permit to the Nazis. At Guardian press time a court order had been issued enjoining Morris from granting the permit.

The Committee to Protest Racial Defamation, headed by civil liberties and labor attorney Conrad J. Lynn, was organized to focus attention on groups such as Rockwell's.

DRUG STORE FLAREUP: On June 9, Rockwell was involved in an incident with sit-ins in Arlington. Dressed in the khaki shirt, trousers, Sam Browne belt and swastika armbands that form the uniform of the party, he and some of his followers paraded inside the Drug Fair where Negro and white college students were peacefully staging a sit-in. One of the storm troopers carried a placard that read: "The Head of the NAACP is a Jew."

According to the Washington **Post** (June 11), Rockwell exchanged insults with three Negro counter girls. When his troopers "moved in on the girls," the Negro porter grabbed Rockwell and invited him outside. Store employes intervened.

Rockwell first gained attention after the bombing of a Jewish temple in Atlanta. He was dismissed from his post as Commander in the U.S. Naval Reserve about four months ago because of his "civilian" activities.

BEHIND MANILA'S WELCOME TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

Philippine 'grey terror' bolsters U.S. cold war aims in

The following article was written by a well-known journalist with first-hand knowledge of Asian affairs. We omit his name to protect from reprisals Filipinos who spoke freely with him. The atmosphere of terror he describes is characteristic of Manila; in the interior, tragically decimated remnants of the Huk freedom fighters still keep alive—however dimly— peasant resistance to exploitation. Even in Manila, pressure had to be exerted to persuade the National Labor Confederation to give up plans for organized demonstrations during President Eisenhower's visit.

MANILA

PHILIPPINE SECY. of Foreign Affairs Felixberto Serrano recently said: "For the SEATO to make freedom worth dying for, it must make that freedom worth living for." He spoke in Washington as chairman of the Philippine delegation to the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, the American SS in the Far East.

His words were timely, for few of the world's peoples enjoy less freedom than the Filipinos. Progressive forces have been under attack ever since the liberation in 1945, under Presidents Roxas, Quirino and Magsaysay. The "white terror" which defeated the Hukbalahap rebels and crushed militant labor, peasant and political organizations, also reduced Philippine democracy to an empty propaganda slogan.

Under President Carlos Garcia the repression has become less savage, but chiefly because the forces of the opposition have been killed, imprisoned, outlawed or intimidated into silent inaction. The "white terror" has faded to a dull grey, and is likely to remain so while SEATO, the State Department, U.S. armed forces and JUSMAG (Joint U.S. Military Advisory Group) remain to help the Philippine puppet government "deal effectively with subversive activities."

I have spent several weeks in this flower-scented city, and it brings back ugly memories of the Italy and Germany I saw in 1937. A few personal experiences may convey more of the stifling atmosphere than facts or figures.

BY APPOINTMENT I visited a Manila labor leader in his office. The first thing he said to me in a low voice, was: "Are you being followed?" I didn't believe so, and after the formalities I asked a question that I considered "safe." He glanced uneasily at the others in the room, officials and organizers, and suggested hastily that we go to lunch. We walked two blocks before he hailed a taxi; then he took me to a distant restaurant where there was a small upstairs room. He hadn't allowed me to talk in the taxi, and even now, although we were the only people in the room, he wouldn't open up until the waitress was out of earshot.

On another occasion I wanted to interview a former Huk who had been in prison but was now "free." We could not go to his house; it was being watched. Instead, we were to meet in a busy Manila cafe. As I sat at a table with a friend, a stranger joined us. Since the place was crowded, we paid no attention. Soon the ex-Huk entered the cafe. But he avoided looking at us and, after a glance at his watch, turned and departed. The mystery deepened when a girl unknown to us handed my friend a note. He read it expressionlessly and handed it to me. It said: "The man next to you is a spy. Meet me at the cobbler's."

We made a casual exit and then began a strange, tortuous journey through busy thoroughfares, into a crowded church and out a side entrance. We hopped a passing jeepney, rode awhile, jumped out, ran down an alley and then strolled past a shoe repair shop. There was our friend, getting a shine. He had been tailed by three agents but had shaken them easily. I was upset, but he laughed at my alarm. "It happens all the time," he said. **"Labor's cheap here, so there are plenty of spies; but they aren't very bright."**

THROUGH HIM, I met a young woman whose father had been a peasant leader. Her husband had been killed and she had two children to support, as well as her widowed mother. Although she had two jobs, she found time for study and had enrolled in a college course in political science. Having an eager mind and a radical outlook, she asked many embarrassing questions in her classes.

She was reported to the Philippine Constabulary and was questioned. They warned her to shut up. She dared them to put her in prison for expressing her opinions. "Oh, we wouldn't make a martyr out of you that way," the officer said. "But the Pasig is broad." Being dumped into the Pasig River, which bisects Manila, is for dissenting Filipinos an alternative to being shot "while trying to escape." They might have been bluffing. But since several members of her family have already been murdered by the PC, she took the threat at its face value.

It was only through such people, encountered in devious ways, that I was able to confirm reports which I had read or heard concerning police-state methods in the Philippines, and to secure details at first hand; for most people don't know that such things are going on, and those who do are understandably reluctant to discuss them. Since I had no occasion to dscuss anything "secret" or "subversive" I never felt that I was in any danger; but my friends thought so, and perhaps they were right.

ONE INCIDENT did alarm me. I was waiting for a friend at the National Press Club. A newspaperman struck up a conversation with me. Somehow, we worked around to the question of nuclear bases for the Philippines. I took exception to the President's policy, and pointed out certain dangers. The newsman called over another man and described our conversation. He even asked me to repeat what I had said. The newcomer seemed keenly interested, too much so, I thought. But no wonder; he was an army officer in charge of psychological warfare. Closely tied in with the intelligence, this branch is extremely active in rooting out dangerous ideas and replacing them with official propaganda.

Had I, in speaking against the policy of his Commander-in-Chief, committed an act of sedition? Sheer paranoia, of course. But one gets that way in Manila. It's contagious. Some who would have been valuable informants and wanted to talk were afraid to see me because I wrote for left-wing publications. (One was a professor whom the U.S. Embassy is trying to oust from his position). Some thought I was in league with the CIA. Others wouldn't let me come near them because they thought I'd bring a few flatfeet along behind me.

PRESIDENT CARLOS GARCIA
He asks for nuclear weapons

MASSIVE REPRESSION GOES WITH PHILIPPINE SLUMS LIKE THESE
U.S. spends billions for bases, but nothing for housing

For me, involvement with the police would have been an inconvenience. But for some of them, it might have been a disaster. People who have a background of progressive activity, particularly if they are engaged in any work not approved by the government, are walking a tightrope. The Anti-Subversive Law o 1957 imposes penalties up to death for participation in any "subversive" organization, and this includes the labor, farmer and political organizations which have shown the greatest potential for effective opposition to the graft-ridden, American-dominated clique which controls the government and the economy. Since hundreds of thousands have belonged to these groups (mostly non-existent now) and have never officially resigned, and since the judicial process of the country has become an instrument of the tyranny, the mere displeasure of the higher-ups may bring serious reprisals.

IN SUCH CLIMATE, the current wave of McCarthyism flourishes like jungle vegetation. The menace of red-ism is found in schools, libraries, theaters, mailboxes, government ministries and even the presidential palace. The NBI (National Bureau of Investigation) and CAFA (Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities) grind out an endless spate of exposures, hearings and conjectures which provide ambitious politicians with ammunition against their opponents. With the elections coming up next year, opposition Liberal politicos find in McCarthyism a handy way of slandering the incumbents without committing themselves to any program. And the Nationalists, who are afraid to attack American imperialism, can at least defend God and Fatherland against the red aliens.

In this political morass, there is only one island of liberalism, and that is the National Progress Movement which has been supporting the Garcia group and encouraging its better side. But now the NPM has been branded "subversive" and a congressional CAFA investigation is being demanded.

Of course the Hukbalahaps who, after resisting the Japanese invaders, had gone on fighting for freedom, land and decent wages, bore the brunt of the terror, white and grey. No one really knows how many were killed in battle, massacred or murdered, since all records were confiscated. More than 50 top leaders are dead, some are still outlaws and the rest are in prison or otherwise immobilized. The vengeance against these patriots is illustrated by the story of Naty Cruz. As a child, she ran away from home to join the Huks. Under the nom de guerre "Espring," she became a messenger in 1950. But after less than a year she was cap-

tured. Because she refused to become an informer, she was convicted of rebellion, along with two Huk leaders. She was only 11 years old and the kindly judge, taking this into consideration, suspended her sentence until she reached majority. But she was not freed; instead, she was kept in prison for ten years as a "politburo" prisoner!

ANOTHER HUK, Commander Salva (Raymundo Salvador) fought gallantly against the Japanese. But after liberation he was arrested and convicted for the wartime "murder" of two Filipino collaborators who had tried, for the benefit of the Japanese, to prevent the demolition of bridges. Although there was a general amnesty for the Huks in 1949, Salva was not freed but was held in prison for some 15 years. He was released only this May when a judge reversed his conviction. Such instances of revenge by the collaborators, who were restored to power by the Americans in the campaign against the Huks, are all too common.

Of the 120-odd Huk leaders who are held in the Army stockade at Fort McKinley, many are under life sentence and seven are condemned to death, all for rebellion. These sentences are still in force although the Philippine Supreme Court decided in 1956 that the maximum sentence allowable under the law was 12 years, with a minimum of six years. Many who are entitled to the minimum sentence have already served more than six years, yet they are not released. A new aspect of the persecution is the indictment of prisoners, already serving

s in Far East

time for rebellion, for "subversion" because they belonged to the illegal organization which rebelled!

WRITERS WHO EXPRESS even mild opposition to the witch-hunt are rare. And those who do are apt to be fence straddlers like the editorial writer for the Manila **Times,** who set out to defend the NPM against the McCarthyites but got cold feet:

"Now regardless of the fact that Senator McCarthy's methods branded him as a skunk of the purest ray serene, we do not believe that lesser methods would have forced the communists investigated as such to seek shelter behind the U.S. Constitution. Without in the least holding a brief for the late unlamented Joe McCarthy, we believe that his methods have at least helped focus public attention on the inquiries."

The Filipino press, owned by domestic and foreign millionaires, echoes the American cold war line. While there is no longer an official censorship, the government can suppress uncooperative papers by cutting off the newsprint allocation (or the dollars for buying it). And without foreign advertising, the dailies would collapse forthwith. What little foreign news the Filipinos can read comes almost entirely from the U.S. press services and is slanted consistently in favor of State Department policy. Most news, even of Asia and closer neighbors, is filtered through AP or UPI before it reaches the Manila press.

Those who dare to criticize do so in a veiled language, with frequent disclaimers of leftism or anti-Americanism. Whatever press freedom exists is employed for the exposure of graft and corruption, which can be done safely by publicizing the charges and countercharges of politicians, influential businessmen, the CAFA and the NBI.

THERE ARE numerous weekly tabloids which exist only to promote special interests or to gather information for extorting money. But, strange to say, it is in such sheets, among the scandals of sex, finance and politics, that the strongest anti-government and anti-imperialist writing is found. The authors of such seditious material always use pseudonyms. Some of them are journalistic lepers who have been blacklisted for political non-conformity.

But the government, finding critics among even this well-behaved press, is now embarked on a grandiose scheme of establishing a department of information to "coordinate" information about all government agencies in order to correct "wrong impressions" of the Philippines and its government at home and abroad.

American magazines are popular in the Philippines, but the most daring publications to be found in bookstores or on newsstands are the Luce publications, **Newsweek** and **U.S. News & World Report.** Few dare subscribe to any left-wing magazines. I met one man who received the **Nation,** but irregularly. Another was very eager to get the **GUARDIAN** but he could not risk having it sent to his home or office. After much deliberation and discussion, he decided to have it sent to a friend already "branded."

He was not overcautious. It is distinctly dangerous to receive any material which the government considers "subversive," and their criteria come from U.S. authorities. Incoming mail is searched for such matter, which is confiscated.

THE LIBRARIES have fared no better. A vast literature is forbidden to enter, and other books have been banned. Librarians have prudently purged the shelves of dubious material. A well-known economics school has only one volume of Marx available. The schools are protected by a board of book censors. Private libraries of political offenders have been confiscated, along with original, unpublished manuscrips, irreplaceable files of old publications, diaries and other precious historical material. The tragedy is compounded by the fact that the building in which a great quantity of such material was stored as "evidence" was burned with all its contents.

Socialist, Marxist or progressive literature is almost unavailable, and students of this genre are reading books worn to rags, many of them obsolete. Some books that can be found in any good library in the U.S. have been copied by hand, and the copies are passed from person to person like secret messages.

There are no large, militant student organizations such as those that have been

shaking the foundations of Korea, Turkey and Japan. If four students meet secretly to discuss some organizational plan, one will confess to his priest and CAFA will hear about it. Students are not allowed to attend international conferences not approved by the foreign office. A few managed to get passports by being reticent about the purpose of their visits abroad, and managed to attend youth meetings in Vienna and Peking. This gave the vigilant CAFA a rich opportunity for publicity and to probe into the universities, which were revealed as hotbeds of radicalism. The lengthy hearings, in grotesque imitation of the Jenner and Eastland Committees, bloated the newspapers for weeks. The irony of it is that Secretary Serrano himself was charged with communist sympathies for letting a few students slip through his fingers.

The films seen by the Filipinos are

Herblock, Washington Post

mostly American or home-made imitations of Hollywood. All pictures from the "iron curtain" countries are banned. In April there was great fanfare about a super-colossal called "The Sword of Invinsor," with rave reviews and expensive propaganda. The picture, said to have been made in West Germany, was having a good run in Manila, although people who saw it told me it was rather innocuous. Then the storm broke. It was revealed that the picture had been made in East Germany. It was withdrawn amidst apologies and denunciations. Even American movies are sometimes too strong for the Philippine censors; "Viva Zapata" was banned, probably because it would give comfort to rebellious peasants.

THE PRINCIPAL VICTIMS of the grey terror are labor and the landless farmers, for it was against their demands that the whole campaign of terror and repression was unleashed. The suppression of the Huk which began in 1945 was a preventive war against higher wages, land reform and independence. Victory of the reactionaries in that war means that the workers and farmers are as badly off as ever economically, and infinitely worse politically. The minimum wage in the Philippines is about $1 per day. But it applies only to some categories of urban or industrial labor and does not affect the vast majority. Nor is it strictly applied to those entitled to it. Even government employes often earn less than the minimum wage.

Most farmers are tenants, and the income of whole families in this class does not average as much as $125 per year. Tenant farmers who importune the landlords to share the crop at the legal percentage, or who decline loans at the prevailing rate of 50% a year, risk losing their tenancy and have great difficulty in finding another. Those who attempt to organize, even to secure their established rights, find themselves attacked by thugs or, on larger estates, by civil guards paid by the landlords. The peasant ringleaders are often murdered, but the police will seldom take any action.

The labor movement is emasculated and is controlled mostly by opportunists or stooges, under the supervision of the Secretary of Labor. There are a few leftwing leaders who have not been liquidated or imprisoned, but they are carefully watched and often harassed. One of them told me, "Don't be a labor organizer in the Philippines if you have a weak heart." Another leader, who is considered very daring because he expresses sympathy for socialism in public, tried to get permission from the government to stage a peaceful demonstration to coincide with the Eisenhower visit. He was refused. Perhaps the backing of 400,000 workers gave him the courage to make the request, but leaders with a smaller following dared not even suggest such a thing.

SECRETARY OF LABOR Angel Castano considers the function of the labor movement to be a "deterrent to communism." In this he reflects the policy of the U.S. government, which takes a paternal interest in Asian labor. The Philippine Trade Union Council, affiliated with the anti-communist ICFTU, receives a $30,000 annual subsidy from the U.S. Many Filipino labor leaders have have been trained in the States, where they studied under International Cooperation Administration fellowships. Under U.S. auspices, an Asian "labor education" center has been established at the University of the Philippines.

The fact that the Philippines are a valuable market for U.S. exports and a source of cheap raw materials is an incentive for Washington to insist upon a fettered labor force, a docile rural population and a government which will discourage anti-imperialist legislation. But since American bases in the Philippines have become vital to cold war strategy in the Far East, political repression has become even worse than it was when the Islands were an American possession.

Those bases must be protected at all costs, not only from "external foes" but from the Filipinos themselves. For the colonial peoples have shown a tendency, when unleashed, to resent their countries being occupied by foreign militarists. And, when informed, they object to being used as magnets for nuclear missiles in wars of others' making, and for purposes remote from their welfare. The function of the SEATO forces, many believe, is to bolster the tyrannies of member countries against popular discontent. That belief is fortified by the fact that the SEATO ground troops are training for guerrilla warfare in great tracts of mountain and jungle appropriated for the purpose in Luzon.

WHERE "ANTI-COMMUNISM" is the criteria of good government, as under the cold war imperative, democracy shrivels as corruption burgeons. The effect upon the present administration has been disastrous, both nationally and internationally. President Garcia seemed to offer some hope that his country might progress toward independence and peace. But under pressure from the Americans through SEATO, JUSMAG, CIA, ICA and the State Department, and pulled by the local bloodhounds, he has been forced not only to continue the grey terror but to aggravate the already hostile relations between the Philippines and the socialist bloc.

On the anniversary of the fall of Bataan, President Garcia announced in an interview that he would welcome the stationing of nuclear weapons on Philippine soil. It is probable that such weapons already exist at Clark Field and the Subic

Bay naval base, but by extending the invitation officially, he brought not only the enmity of neighboring countries but, in the words of Senator Claro Recto, he is risking "national suicide."

But what do the Filipino people think about all of this, of the terrors, white, grey and nuclear? Too many of the informed people are either in prison or only one short step from it, and their voices are not heard in the din of propaganda. The grey terror is unknown to those who do nothing to challenge it, and many an educated Filipino reading this would think me out of my mind.

The America worshipers, who like to call themselves "brown Yankees," proved they could be depended upon to give Ike the greatest welcome of all time and, in the absence of the opposition, they were taken for the Filipino people.

A PHILIPPINE ARMY PATROL AND SOME OF ITS HUK VICTIMS
A "grey terror" against progressives now blankets the Islands

All Nations Picnic July 4 in Chicago

AN ALL NATIONS July 4 picnic will be held by the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights and the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. at Santa Fe Park, 95th and Wolf Rd., Chicago, Ill.

The picnic will offer exotic foods, a raffle, and a special exhibit which will feature a tape recording of the San Francisco hearings of the House Un-American Committee.

Information may be obtained from the All Nations Picnic, 189 W. Madison, room 811, Chicago, Ill., DE 2-7142. Admission is 50c (35c with raffle ticket).

FIRST BREAK IN FRANCE'S DIRTY WAR

Algerian peace delegation will attend Paris meeting

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

On June 20 the provisional Algerian national government in exile announced that it had accepted President de Gaulle's bid to come to Paris to discuss the prospect of peace in Algeria on the basis of his June 14 speech. The following dispatch by the GUARDIAN'S Paris correspondent sets forth the alternatives that are likely to confront the Algerians.

PRESIDENT DE GAULLE'S June 14 speech on Algeria reaffirmed his September 16 offer of self-determination, but it also contained glaring contradictions of other de Gaulle statements made in March. Two separate and distinct Algerian policies have now been put forward: (1) Self-determination, however the term and its practical application may be understood; (2) the slow military and administrative reconversion of Algeria as outlined by de Gaulle earlier this year.

When de Gaulle told the Army in Algeria in March that "independence would be a terrible catastrophe," that "pacification must first be terminated," and that "our aim is an Algerian Algeria tied to France," it seemed, to some observers, merely a maneuver designed to appease the Army; others took it as proof that de Gaulle had been forced to give in to certain Army demands. The district elections in Algeria May 31 confirmed it as a second Algerian policy.

This policy might be roughly defined thus: If our offer of self-determination fails, or as long as it is not taken up by the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN), we shall adopt a different Algerian policy, on two levels: the military and the administrative. Militarily, total victory over the FLN will be the goal. Administratively, certain forms of local government and local economic development will be sponsored by Paris without FLN participation, to give an impression of change and improvement. On the military level, the FLN will be considered purely as a military adversary. On the administrative level, things will be handled as though there were no FLN at all. In this way, the FLN will finally be suffocated and worn down.

FIRST STEP: The May 31 district elections were a first step in the new direction. Against warnings from both the right and the left that no valid election could be held in a war-torn country, the balloting was conducted as though under perfectly normal conditions. Paris is now planning the next steps along the same lines—round table and other discussions with those elected "to deliberate on Algerian problems while waiting for peace," as de Gaulle said in his June 14 speech.

There is no reason why the Army in Algeria cannot wholeheartedly accept this alternate policy. It is even ready to support de Gaulle's orginal offer of self-determination, provided that "an Algerian Algeria tied to France" will be the likely outcome of the new discussions, and that, no matter what happens, the Army will remain in Algeria indefinitely.

Travelers recently returned from Algeria are struck by the Army's determination to keep calm and, with the purging of certain extreme right-wing elements following the Jan. 24 putsch attempt, to keep aloof from "activist" and "ultra" movements and remain loyal to de Gaulle.

With Paris and the Army working in harmony, things could develop quietly along the second policy line—if the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic continues to reject the de Gaulle peace offer, and if there were no internal and external factors to complicate matters.

ELECTIONS A TEST: Internally, the first thing to be considered is the reaction of the Algerian man-in-the-street. The district elections were a test. Overall participation in the vote was 56%, considerably lower than in preceding elections, although it is true that this one was less important politically. Participation was much lower in certain parts of the country, especially in the countryside, where Army trucks had to haul the reluctant citizens to the ballot box. Even more significent was the atmosphere in which the voting took place. A **Le Monde** reporter found that "at the Casbah, the contrast with the referendum vote was glaring. On Sept. 30, 1958, the Moslems lined up to vote in endless queues. [On May 31] before the same polling places, there were no crowds. Only the old came and voted."

FRENCH SOLDIERS STAND OVER EXECUTED ALGERIANS
If peace comes, the scars of war will be slow to heal

There is no question that de Gaulle's March shift of policy from self-determination to pacification - first has profoundly shaken the confidence of the average Algerian. Up to then, de Gaulle's personal prestige was high among the population; today, he is being compared with certain of his predecessors who also pretended to go through the motions of democratic processes as the beginning of a solution.

The Army itself is under an illusion. Jules Roy, a liberal French "European" writer born in Algeria, and a friend of the late Albert Camus, found after a visit to his native country last month that the Army now prides itself on having won the confidence and even the affection of the local population. This is its most serious illusion, he writes.

OTHER FACTORS: The external factors that will play their part in immediate and long-term Algerian developments weigh even more heavily:

- Two members of the Provisional government recently signed a defense treaty with Peking. The treaty is in suspension pending ratification by the entire Provisional government and will certainly not be translated into reality until all other avenues of approach to an Algerian settlement have been exhausted. Still, it is the most direct indication yet of the eventual internationalization of the conflict.
- A new Algerian discussion is due at the UN this fall or winter. France's position in it becomes a little more difficult each year. This time, the Black African ex-French colonial states, having recently obtained their independence and UN representation, will find it hard to forgo their natural sentiment and their moral duty to vote in favor of France. The consequences of a hostile vote are bound to weigh on future relations with Paris.
- Opinion in France is becoming openly alarmed at the indefinite prolongation of the Algerian war, and is saying so.

The same question always arises in the end: De Gaulle and the FLN having both accepted the principle of self-determination as an equitable basis for peace, what prevents peace from becoming a reality?

According to the Algerian Gaullist writer Jean Amrouche, the FLN is afraid de Gaulle's "peace of the brave" is but an "honorable mask" behind which are hidden military domination and a political submission that abolishes the very reasons of the FLN for existing.

The fact is that self-determination today means association to de Gaulle, just as it means independence to the FLN. De Gaulle has made his choice openly, and the FLN cannot help feel that he will hold an eventual self-determination ballot at such time and in such circumstances that his own solution will come out of the ballot box.

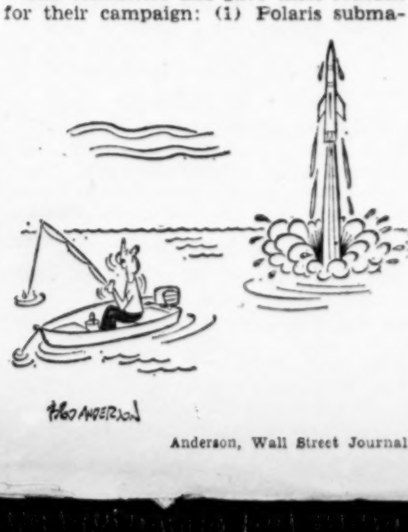
Pauling subpenaed

(Continued from Page 1)

Conn., against Polaris missile-launching submarines. CNVA secy. Bradford Lyttle said the area was chosen because it includes a submarine base, a Coast Guard Academy and the General Dynamics Electric Boat shipyards, where Polaris submarines are built.

Lyttle said the campaign was begun after the Navy announced that it would build 50 Polaris subs, each carrying at least 16 missiles. Such a fleet, Lyttle said, could "initate an attack six times greater than one which the Rand Corporation estimated would kill 160,000,000 Americans in 36 hours."

The committee also gave these reasons for their campaign: (1) Polaris submarines "will virtually end hopes for controlled disarmament" because of the difficulty in monitoring them; (2) They "increase chances of war through mechanical or psychological accident"; (3) They increase international tensions; (4) "No nation under any circumstances has the right to threaten to burn, blast and radiate to death tens of millions of people."



Anderson, Wall Street Journal

FIVE ARRESTED: While some in the group maintain a vigil at the New London submarine base, others are organizing different forms of protest. Timed to arrive in New London during the annual Harvard-Yale boat races on June 18, 22 pacifists set out from New York on a 125-mile peace walk. They carried picket signs and distributed leaflets on the way. In Branford, Conn., on June 16, five of the group were arrested for "using the highway recklessly" because a motorist, while reading the pacifists' signs, slowed down and was bumped by a car behind. Neither driver was injured and the cars were only slightly damaged. Four of the pacifists were released on $15 bond, but Arthur Harvey refused to post bond on principle and he was jailed.

The walkers arrived in New London early on June 18. Already in town were five others who had sailed in the sloop "Satyagraha" and the dory "World Citizen." The dory had stopped at Glen Cove, L.I., where Russian diplomats live, to present a "note of concern" about Soviet military preparations.

THE ATTACK: At 4 p.m. about 25 pacifists drove to the shipyards, shouldered picket signs reading "End the Arms Race" and "Polaris—Fish of Death" and passed out leaflets. While the work shift changed at the yards, there were from 1,000 to 1,500 workers outside. Suddenly some of them decided to attack the pacifists. They tore up picket signs and leaflets. Lyttle was punched in the face.

The pacifists retreated to their cars in which their families had remained. Some of the workers started to overturn the cars, but when they saw the children they contented themselves with ripping off picket signs.

That evening eight workers came to CNVA headquarters, apparently to break up a meeting. They were invited to join the discussion. After some of the pacifists spoke, the workers were granted the floor to present their side. Taken aback, they had few arguments except in favor of their jobs (an average wage at the yards is about $125 a week). By the end of the meeting two of the workers indicated they understood the pacifists' position.

OTHER ACTIONS: Other CNVA actions are planned through the summer. Public rallies will be held in several cities. Peace walks are scheduled to begin in Boston and New York on Aug. 7 to converge on New London Aug. 14. The next day some are expected to participate in non-violent civil disobedience "to question the morality of a policy of massive retaliation that holds the threat of extinction over the human race."

Contributions may be sent to CNVA, 13 N. Bank St., New London, Conn.

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BOOKS

Iroquois nationalism on the rise

A CANADIAN MEMBER of Parliament sat beside an Indian at a lunch-counter and watched him eat a stack of hotcakes. "I wish I had your appetite," the MP said. "I never have any appetite." "Take it," said the Indian. "Why don't you take it?" "What do you mean?" asked the MP. The Indian replied: "You've taken my land, you've taken my freedom, you've taken my women. You might as well take my appetite, too."

A New York Indian remarks: "The white man has invented an Indian in his own image: unforgiving, vindictive, treacherous. The Indian is none of these things and never was. The white man has foisted on the Indian all the worst of his own characteristics."

These bitter expressions are recorded in Edmund Wilson's recent book* about the Iroquois Six Nations Confederacy which embraces Mohawks, Senecas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras. They now number about 20,000 and are growing. They are about equally divided between New York State and Canada, and live on land that has been whittled down by the white man's encroachment from an original 18,000,000 acres—supposedly protected by Federal treaties—to 78,000 acres, which the white man still covets.

IT IS AN ODD VIRTUE of the book that the author is no expert on Indian affairs or Indian history, tradition or lore. He was not even aware of an "Indian problem" until late 1957 when a band of Mohawks under Chief Standing Arrow laid claim to some land not far from his own family property. In his ensuing research to correct his ignorance—he spent two years on the book—he visited all the large reservations here and in Canada, made friends with countless Indians, and was permitted to attend many ancient rites and ceremonies which he describes in detail enough to make the reader a participant.

Because his own effort was pioneering, the book is invested with a sense of discovery. What he found was a proud and independent people wracked and driven for nearly 400 years by "the people from heaven" but never broken on the white man's wheel. On the contrary, Wilson notes a resurgence of nationalist self-consciousness among the Iroquois which he directly relates to the world-wide upheaval of the dark-skinned peoples to come into their own.

There is just enough history in the book to inspire a curious reader to learn more about the crimes committed against the only indigenous Americans. Wilson does not give too much space to how the Tuscaroras were driven north from what is now North Carolina in about 1715, nor to Andy Jackson's Indian Removal Act, nor to what happened to the Cherokees when they tried to adapt themselves to the white man's ways. Nor does he tell enough about the labors of the missionaries—Catholic and Protestant—to save pagan souls (but he does tell how the godly ones were deeply involved in one of the greatest land frauds against the Iroquois).

He does report his finding that the old long-house way of life, based on the revelations of the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake (1735-1815), is now accepted by at least half the Iroquois world and is growing (even in the Canadian part of the St. Regis reservation where it is forbidden by the Catholic Church).

IROQUOIS LEADER MAD BEAR WITH CUBA LEADER FIDEL CASTRO
Will the Cubans sponsor the Iroquois Federation in the UN?

WHAT DOES SET OFF Wilson's indignation are the latest encroachments against Iroquois lands in New York State—Mr. Robert Moses' attempt to bull-doze the Tuscaroras off their reservation near Niagara for a power project, and the move to flood out the Senecas from their Allegany reservation in southern New York by building the Kinzua Dam on the Allegheny River in Pennsylvania. The Mohawks by militant resistance saved most of their land from Moses; the Senecas are still fighting.

The Kinzua Dam project was approved by an act of Congress in 1941, but was blocked by then Secy. of the Interior Harold Ickes and later by the war, but is now actively being pressed by the Army Corps of Engineers. It would create a man-made lake 33 miles long which would cover 9,000 acres of the habitable land of the Senecas and leave only 2,300 habitable acres. The Senecas are a semi-independent republic and their holdings are guaranteed by the Pickering Treaty of 1794:

"The United States acknowledge all the land within the aforesaid boundaries, to be the property of the Seneka nation; and the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb the Seneka in the free use and enjoyment thereof: but it will remain theirs, until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase."

INDEPENDENT EXPERTS, including Arthur E. Morgan, a former chairman of TVA, have found the Kinzua Dam not only unnecessary, but a flood threat to the town of Salamanca if built; he and others have shown that flood control would be more efficient and less costly at another site that would not disturb the Seneca reservation. But a more damning indictment of the Kinzua project has been the information, reported by Wilson, that a group of Pittsburgh industrialists want the dam for their private interests: it would dilute the river at seasons when it runs low and lessen the pollution of sulphurous drainage from coal mines which rusts their boilers.

Such are the economics—and the morals—of Indian existence in the U.S. today.

As for the dam-building proclivities of the Army Corps of Engineers, Wilson has a delightful passage on the habits of beavers, who are compulsive dam-builders. He tells the story of a friend of his who settled a pair on his land. Within a few years they had so multiplied, and so dammed, that his property was reduced to a swamp. He had to have them physically removed from the premises, and Wilson implies that that should be done with engineers who would build a dam just because it seems a nice place to build one.

WILSON BELIEVES that the resurgence of American Indian nationalism—or at least Iroquois nationalism—now awaits only a leader. And it is his opinion that Wallace Anderson, a Tuscarora leader (not a chief) who is known as Mad Bear, is the man. Anderson is a Navy veteran who served in Korea, and has worked in the merchant marine. He led the fight against Moses at Niagara, and has since been called upon for help by non-Iroquois tribes. He now devotes himself exclusively to Indian affairs and may indeed be the new prophet.

A couple of years ago the Miccosukee Indians of Florida, one of the most self-contained, independent and stubborn tribes in the country, asked his help in their fight against a project that would crowd them out of their time-honored home in the Everglade swamps. Wilson writes:

"He made the trip south to see them and also met there with representatives of other southern Indian groups. They discussed, he reports, a project of uniting all the Indians of North, South and Central America, and they sent a buckskin of recognition to Fidel Castro's revolutionary government in Cuba . . . Fidel Castro, in return for the buckskin, invited the Six Nations and Miccosukees to send delegations to visit him in Cuba. They accepted and went to Havana . . . 'They rolled out the red carpet for us,' writes Mad Bear, 'including police escort in Cadillacs, bands and machete-waving campesinos.' The Iroquois nationalists are hoping that Cuba will sponsor the admission of the League to the councils of the United Nations."

—Lawrence Emery

**APOLOGIES TO THE IROQUOIS*, by Edmund Wilson. With A Study of the Mohawks in High Steel, by Joseph Mitchell. Farrar, Straus & Cudahy. 101 Fifth Ave., New York 3. 310 pp. 15 illustrations. $4.95.

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The Japan story

(Continued from Page 1)

wrote Harry Welker; U.S. investors were "interested in a fat profit and fast turnover which leaves the country poorer than before" (New York **Herald Tribune**, June 15).

The President told the Filipinos that "communism was the greatest danger to mankind" and discussed opportunities for greater private American investment to help the Philippine economy. According to AP correspondent Jim Becker (June 15), the more responsible Philippine legislators privately admitted that Eisenhower's "complicated phrases and weighty preachments did not strike a spark of response in Filipino hearts."

"GO HOME, GO HOME": On his last day in the Philippines the President received Japanese Premier Nobusuke Kishi's message requesting him to cancel his visit to Japan. He went on to Taiwan, where he lauded Chiang Kai-shek as a great champion of democracy, to the accompaniment of the heavy shelling of Quemoy from the Chinese mainland. He ignored a statement issued on the day of his arrival by a group of prominent

NEW YORK TIMES,
MAY 22, 1960.

SUMMIT FAILURE
A MARKET TONIC

Gain for the Week Almost
Wipes Out April Losses
in Prices of Stocks

BULLISHNESS REVIVES

Fireworks in Paris Shift
Spotlight to Shares of
Military Suppliers

Taiwan citizens accusing Chiang of using "anti-communism . . . as a pretext to deprive the people of their constitutional rights and freedoms."

In Okinawa, Eisenhower was greeted by thousands of students snake dancing and chanting "Go home, go home" and "Return Okinawa to Japan—take out missiles." Five members of the legislature boycotted his visit to the legislative chambers, whence he was whisked out the back door as police found it difficult to control the demonstrators out front.

In South Korea, still jubilant over the flight of Syngman Rhee, nothing untoward happened to mar his reception.

THE BUILD-UP: All these visits were in any case peripheral; it was the canceled trip to Japan that led thoughtful observers the world over to wonder if Washington had learned any lessons.

Opposition to U.S. military bases in Japan is no recent phenomenon; it has been building up and gathering momentum since Washington—as it had done in West Germany—began encouraging the revival of the pre-war Zaibatsu (giant cartels) and the rearming of Japan. This was done in violation of the post-war Japanese constitution which forbade the revival in any way of Japan's war-making potential.

In 1951, Secy. of State Dulles took Japan under Washington's wing by unilaterally drafting and signing a peace treaty and security pact. This treaty was so repugnant to Japan's neighbors that the U.S.S.R., India and Burma refused to sign it. Nor did Peking or Taiwan.

ZAIBATSU AGAIN: Since then, the rearmament of Japan has progressed rapidly. U.S. Sidewinder missiles have been airlifted to the American air base at Tachikawa and transferred to the Japanese "Self-Defense" forces. U-2 spy planes have been taking off from Japan for flights over China and the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, three of the four biggest pre-war Zaibatsu—the Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo industrial empires—have been allowed to build even greater economic and political power than before. They have been joined by U.S. big business, including G.E. (Mitsui), Westinghouse (Mitsubishi), Western Electric (Sumitomo), and Standard Oil (Mitsui, Mitsubishi and others).

Zaibatsu financial backing has helped maintain Premier Kishis' Liberal-Democratic Party — which is neither liberal nor democratic—in power. It was the combination of U.S.-Zaibatsu policy which brought Kishi back to the top of the political heap.

AN UNSAVORY RECORD: GUARDIAN correspondent John Roberts reported from Tokyo last spring:

"Nobusuke Kishi, now the Premier of Japan, was an important member of the Tojo Cabinet and responsible for the Pacific War. After the surrender, he was imprisoned as a war criminal. Though he escaped the fate of his comrades, some of whom were hanged, he was banished from all political activities.

"But the cold war came to his rescue. The U.S. authorities and Japanese reactionaries, finding that Kishi's talents could again be put to use against a rising progressive movement, called him from his political exile. Sponsored by the Zaibatsu, Kishi made a brisk comeback. As Premier, he visited Taiwan and, after talking with Chiang, announced that Japan would side with him when he tried a comeback attack on the mainland."

POLICE BILLS FAIL: Last year the Kishi government announced a vast "Six-Year Plan" of military build-up in close cooperation with the Zaibatsu program of expanded munitions production and export. Since he became Premier in 1957, he has twice tried to push through a bill giving the police wide powers of "preventive arrests" and prohibiting public demonstrations. Strong public opposition blocked their passage.

In short, by the end of last year Japan seemed again to be ruled by the same combination of authoritarian government and heavy industry and munition manufacturers whose expansionist policies plunged the Japanese into a war climaxed by the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

When Kishi tried to railroad the revised Washington-Tokyo security treaty through parliament, even before the scars

Lancaster, London Daily Express

of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had healed, public opposition burst all bounds, culminating in a massive demonstration of 300,000 on June 17 which forced Kishi to request that Eisenhower cancel his visit.

THE EDITORIAL ECHO: The President, his administration and leaders of the two political parties called the Japanese demonstrators "a small organized minority, led by professional Communist agitators," and directed from Peking and Moscow. Most U.S. newspaper editorial opinion followed the same line.

Yet correspondents on the spot almost unanimously emphasized the broad, representative character of the demonstrations, and attributed them to a nationwide spirit of neutralism and a deep-seated desire to avoid becoming a target in a senseless war.

"GENUINE YEARNING": C. L. Sulzberger in the New York **Times** (June 18) said: "Communist, Socialist, anti-American, neutralist, anti-militarist and anti-Kishi elements had clearly joined in demonstrating hostility." Warren Rogers cabled the **Herald Tribune** (June 17) that "a genuine yearning for neutralism underlined the violence" that prevented the President's visit. The New York **World-Telegram** correspondent said (June 18): "The desire for peace is poignantly strong in the only country to suffer atomic destruction." The London **Daily Mail** correspondent (June 14) found that "98,000,000 Japanese have only one thought in their minds—to turn Japan into the Switzerland of the Far East." Joseph Wershba wrote in the New York **Post** (June 16):

"The Communist opposition to Kishi is just a small part of the massive opposition . . . His opponents regard his foreign policy as a one-way ticket into a war between the U.S. and Russia, and they regard some of his domestic policies as a frightening echo of 'thought-control' days under the old military dictatorship."

THE MOOD SPREADS: Robert Trumbull in the **Times** asserted that neutralist sentiment was prevalent among other U.S. allies in Asia, and even "in divided Vietnam and Korea there are some who believe that the Communist and non-Communist halves could work out some kind of relationship if it were not for the 'cold war' that they did not make."

Washington could well heed the warning of the London **News Chronicle**: "The State Department has become accustomed to blame anything that goes wrong on the Communists . . . This was untrue in South Korea and Turkey. It is untrue of Japan. The damage cannot be repaired until this illusion is dispelled."

What happened in Japan is only the most dramatic example of the fact that Washington's allies are less and less willing to tolerate U.S. bases on their soil; Italy is opposing the stationing of U-2 planes, and Alvarez Del Vayo reported (York, Pa., **Gazette and Daily**, June 18) that leaflets have appeared in Spain saying: "Spaniards, learn from the Japanese!"

NATL. GROUP PROPOSED

Lamont urges U. S. rejection of Japan treaty

IN A TELEGRAM June 17 to Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Dr. Corliss Lamont urged reconsideration of the Committee's decision to approve the disputed Japanese treaty. His telegram suggested instead a treaty which would relieve Japan from the danger of being "a permanent military base for the U.S. armed forces and for the launching of atom and hydrogen bombs in a possible Third World War."

"Japanese opposition to the proposed security pact reaches far beyond radical groups to include the majority of the Japanese people," Dr. Lamont wired Fulbright. "With the horrors of the atomic bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki still in mind, and with many individuals still dying yearly from the effects of those explosions, the Japanese people are understandably fearful of any international agreement that might involve them in a nuclear war."

The Lamont wire cited a statement by John D. Rockefeller IV in the June 20 **Life** magazine as further supporting his belief that the Kishi government lacks the support of a majority of the Japanese people, and concludes:

"It would be far more statesmanlike for the U.S. government to wait for new elections in Japan and to work out a more rational treaty with a Japanese government more truly representative of the Japanese people."

CONFERENCE SOUGHT: In a communication to the GUARDIAN accompanying the text of his telegram, Dr. Lamont suggested that all progressives in agreement with his views send similar messages to Sen. Fulbright and their own two Senators. He added:

"In view of the continuing international crisis and the utter failure of the U.S. government to cope with the situation or even to know what the situation is, I have invited a few representative progressives to discuss informally the more pressing problems of American foreign policy.

"One proposal that is before us is to establish a permanent progressive action committee on a national basis."

Dr. Lamont urged comments on this proposal through the GUARDIAN.

Foreign Born picnic at Midvale June 26

CAMP MIDVALE, N.J., will be the scene of the annual all-nations picnic of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born on Sunday, June 26. National foods such as Hungarian paprika goulash, Mediterranean shashlik, Russian and Ukrainian meat pies and pastries, and Polish kolbasa and kapusta will be offered.

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PHILADELPHIA

BURNHAM MEMORIAL MEETING In honor of Louis E. Burnham and to reaffirm belief in the causes he worked for, the Philadelphia Friends of the Guardian invite you to a **LAWN PARTY**, with entertainment and lively discussion —Sat., June 25, 8:30 p.m. at The Seidler's Lawn, 8020 Cobden Rd., Laverock (4 blocks off Cheltenham & Willow Grove Av.). Proceeds will go to a fund set up for the Burnham children. (Directions: Car — Cneltenham Av. to Willow Grove Av., R. 4 blocks, L. Cobden Rd. Bus — "S" bus Broad & Olney to Cheltenham Av. & Willow Grove Av., walk 4 blocks on Willow Grove to Cobden Rd.)

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THE GALLERY

ON BOTH COASTS young voices of sanity were fighting to be heard over their elders' jamming.

A world affairs class in East High School in Bremerton, Wash., sent a telegram to President Eisenhower urging him to apologize to Premier Khrushchev for the U-2 incident. Although Richard G. Jones, the class teacher, insisted the telegram was the students' idea and only partially reflected his own view (he would have also sent a wire to Mr. K), the school board reassigned him to non-teaching duties.

School officials insisted there were other factors behind their action. They said that Jones brought up questions of sex in class. Sex, the board felt, was not properly a world affair.

Five of the students who signed the telegram protested Jones' reassignment to the Asst. Superintendent of Schools. They said Jones had taught them to think as no other teacher had because he presented controversial subjects fairly.

Sixty-one other students signed a petition calling the board's action a "grave injustice." Other protests came from the American Civil Liberties Union, the Bremerton Fedn. of Teachers and an ad hoc group called "Concerned Citizens and Parents."

Parents were divided on the issue. Those who sided with the board seemed most disturbed by the "sex question." Others said Jones was one of the best teachers in the school.

Mrs. John Coombe, wife of a mechanic, had her own view: "It's all right for kids that age to have an opinion, but they shouldn't have gone that far. But I agree with the kids. I have four boys and I'd have said 'I'm sorry' if it meant keeping out of war."

A candid opinion came from a school official, who told the Seattle **Times**: "I think if the wire had read 'Stand firm, Ike, we're behind you 100%,' the teacher's infraction would have been the same, but there would have been different public reaction."

Jones, 32, married and the father of two sons, had been teaching for four years. He said he was hiring a lawyer to fight the case.

STEPHEN BAYNE, 17-year-old president of the student organization at Westbury High School in Long Island, N.Y., was the best student in the senior class. He had already won a scholarship to Harvard by Senior Awards Night. But that night he also got medals for music, science, Spanish and from the Parent-Teachers Assn. As a citizenship award from the local American Legion was about to be presented, Bayne stood up before an audience of 1,000 classmates, parents and school officials and said: "Wait! I refuse to accept an award from an organization whose policies I can't respect."

School officials were stunned by the heresy. But some recovered quickly enough to apologize to the Legion's Americanism chairman. (Later the school sent an official letter of apology.) An intermission was called while faculty members from the English and History departments huddled. They decided that Bayne "did not exemplify the highest type of leadership by virtue of his action" and that the English and History awards, which were also to have gone to him, should be given to others.

Innocently, two other students accepted the medals. Later, when they learned what had happened, they returned the awards. Donald Kursch, who returned the History medal, said: "I support him for sticking up to his principles, but I think the way he did it was wrong and in poor taste and bad manners. However, I don't feel that what he did should have any bearing on the removal of awards from him."

The local Legion commander predicted that Bayne had made "a lifetime mistake which will plague him forever." National Legion commander Martin McKneally said: "What can you expect from an adolescent?"

To hundreds of others Bayne's action was welcome if unexpected. Letters of congratulations came to Bayne from across the country. Novelist Sloan Wilson wrote: "I can't respect them either . . . I think your action was a courageous one and I wish that more of your elders shared your fearlessness."

Dr. Norman Molomut, director of the Waldemar Medical Research Foundation in Port Washington, where Bayne worked as a volunteer for three years, said: "I think that if the next generation has a majority of people in it like Stephen Bayne, we would be well on our way to a higher form of civilization. He is one of the most considerate young people I have ever had contact with."

Mrs. Clara Reesch, director of the Long Island Little Orchestra Society, said: "I know Stephen because he plays in my orchestra—just recently he was piano soloist in a performance of the Bach D Minor Concerto. He has a sweetness about him that you find in very few young people, and I am glad he has the strength to live up to his principles."

Florence Lazaere, Waldemar administrative director, said: "Do you know that he is an Eagle Scout? Or that he has given Indian dance recitals all over Long Island and has given all the money to charity?"

The Nassau County Classroom Teachers Assn. also supported Bayne.

Ed Wilhelm, a junior, summed up for the students: "It's about time someone got up and told those guys off. They think they're always right because they wave half a dozen American flags at once."

Sen. Stephen M. Young (D-Ohio), who has had his own differences with the Legion, wrote to Bayne: "That fellow who demanded that you be expelled is an un-American, fascist-minded jerk who really should read the Bill of Rights and try to understand it."

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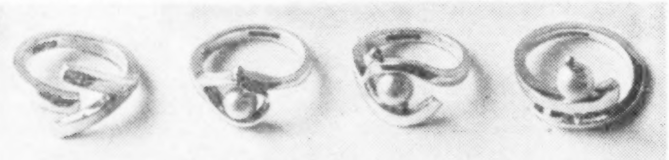

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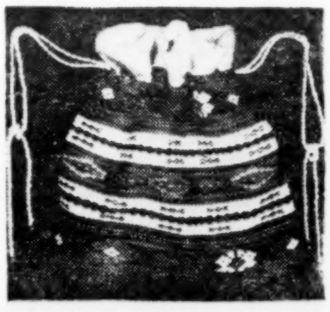

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the SPECTATOR

Our own dirty war

IN THE PERIOD from December, 1950, through September, 1952, journalist-poet Walter Lowenfels collected some 700 letters to newspapers all over the country and has winnowed the pile down to 48 for a forthcoming volume called **Korean War Letters.** Our selection below seeks to respect Lowenfels' interest in "showing the dominant mood of dissent among average people and how it found a way to express itself."

On whether the letters make poetry, Lowenfels reminds us of Emerson's dictum:

"It isn't meters that make poetry, but a meter-making argument."

Denver **Post**

Here is a story of a lonely soldier boy of 17 with a dream of brother love and peace some day not so far away from this world of today . . . P.S. Pray for us here in Korea. We need it.

PFC Ed Gallegos

Memphis **Commercial Advertiser**

Most of the big shots don't know what these boys are getting murdered about except for them to make another dollar.

Mrs. R. F. France

Pittsburgh **Courier**

Why should Negroes die for second-class citizenship? No Negro who has done any thinking would desire to go overseas and kill people who, like himself, have been exploited for centuries. Even if it were possible for a Negro to receive a medal of honor for his part in the slaughter, old man 'Jim Crow' would be waiting to slap him in the face at the instant he set feet in the 'land of the free and the home of the brave.'

Our biggest fight is within this country. We have more enemies here than we have in Europe or Korea . . . We should re-emphasize that our definite goal is unequivocal equality.

Roy Wright

Joplin (Mo.) **News Herald**

I think Mr. Truman did the right thing in canning MacArthur, only he delayed too long.

Now I think he should do something else. He should can Dean Acheson, John F. Dulles, and a few others, then call our boys home and stop the war in Korea—then resign.

G. T. Conner, Fruitvale

Washington **Post**

We could have saved today's death in Korea if we pulled out yesterday. Today is too late. We can save tomorrow's deaths in Korea, if we pull out today. Tomorrow is too late.

Vernon Ward, Ransomville, N.C.

York (Pa.) **Gazette and Daily**

I have a boy who passed the army and he has flat feet and athletes feet and don't hear very well. Don't know how he passed but he did. If only the big shots who are behind all of this had to endure a few bombs and be up front instead of our boys, then this fighting would end. I think some of these big shots ought to be tried for murder and put behind bars. This whole thing is just a money-making war, not to protect us.

George Curry

Spokane **Spokesman Review**

We have lost good honest boys in this conflict and not one politician. We have a surplus of politicians.

W. C. Harrison, Bonner's Ferry

Bergen (N.J.) **Evening Record**

"Now suppose, Hennessy, the Chinese had a big army a stone's throw from our borders, would we be in the least bit worried? Niver? And suppose they were knocking down the bridges into Texas—only the Mexican ends, mind ye—would we be worried?"

Dooley shook his head. "I will never understand the Chinese."

"All the same," Hennessy replied, "I feel patriotic with all this war talk."

"Go on wid you," said Dooley, "you could niver be a real patriot. Ye have no stock ticker in your house.

J. L. Brown, Fair Lawn

Richmond **News Leader**

America's approach to the colonial races is to treat them as if they were not human. Their lives are as dear to them as our lives are to us. I fear our approach, the approach of Caucasians to Asiatics. Now we are reaping just what we have sown. Many in America feel they are better than Asiatics, better than the darker races, better than the Jews.

Mrs. I. F. Epps

Louisville **Courier Journal**

I had four sons in World War II and I have a son in Korea who is only 17.

There wouldn't be any wars if mothers, not presidents, had the say.

American Mother

St. Louis **Globe Democrat**

How long are we going to sit still and take it?

Mrs. Ben Snedeker

Fore!

ERWIN, TENN.

Our propaganda department says "Khrushchev has a peasant mind." Maybe he has—granted he has—but if he had been President of these United States for the past five years instead of the one we got, I doubt if he would have stood idly by with a golf club in his hand and a grin on his mug and watched a banker of the Church of the Latter Day Saints (sure I mean his big business boy Ezra Benson) bulldoze 2,000,000 hard-working farmers off their land and into utter desolation without a penny of compensation. **Ernest Seeman**